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ART. I. — *Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery to the Present Time, with an Account of their Antiquities, Manners and Customs, Religion and Laws.* By SAMUEL G. DRAKE. Fifth Edition, with large Additions and Corrections, and numerous Engravings. Boston. 1836. 8vc. pp. 576.

WE owe a lasting obligation to Mr. Drake, for his unwearyed efforts to collect and preserve the scattered memorials of a people that so soon must cease to exist. Their character and fate form a chapter of mournful interest in our American history; and there is something almost holy in the task of thus tracing out the few and faint vestiges that remain of an ill-fated race, and, as it were, rearing, with the cold and scattered hearth-stones of their once cheerful homes, a monument to their memory.

Their origin is enveloped in obscurity; and their history, from the time that they first became known to the Europeans, exists only in meagre and detached fragments. But whoever reads Mr. Drake's "*Book of the Indians of North America*," cannot but feel that the task of collecting and arranging these has fallen into skilful hands. His sympathy for the hard fate of the Indian, his indefatigable diligence in collecting materials from original and authentic sources, and his strict love of truth and accuracy, evinced in the full and minute reference

to authorities, by which he seems to have courted the scrutiny of the closest examination, admirably qualified him for the work he has now so faithfully executed. Much had been done, within a short time, by the learned labors of Duponceau, Heckewelder, Cass, Pickering, and others, to illustrate the institutions, language, and history of the Indians; but the subject was by no means exhausted. Mr. Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, however meritorious as a popular narrative, makes no claim to originality either in matter or manner, and, by the accurate historian, can be considered, at best, only as a hasty compilation, even the language of other writers being very often retained. There was, therefore, still needed, as a volume of authority and standard reference, a more full and complete collection. Such a work we feel little hesitation in pronouncing the volume before us. While it cannot fail to interest the common reader, the antiquary will regard it as a valuable accession to the stock of Indian history.

Mr. Drake was first known to us by an edition of Church's *History of Philip's War*, which he published about ten years since, accompanied with notes, discovering diligent research and a true antiquarian spirit. Since that time, he seems to have devoted himself with much assiduity to the subject of Indian history and antiquities. In 1832, he published the first edition of the work before us. This was a duodecimo volume of about 350 pages, entitled "*Indian Biography*," and was the first book of the kind, which we recollect to have been published in the country. The second edition was a thick octavo, and the present volume contains nearly six hundred pages, closely printed, in small type. We mention these circumstances, to show that Mr. Drake has long labored in this department; and, as the constantly increasing size and interest of his "*Book of the Indians*" shows, with great assiduity and success.

The arrangement of the work is judicious and appropriate. Authorities are faithfully given for the facts stated, making it of permanent value to the historian as a book of reference; and a full and complete index, a thing indispensable in such a collection of comparatively isolated facts, as the history of the Indians must necessarily be, places the whole contents at the immediate disposal of the reader. The style is unambitious, and, as the author remarks in his Preface, "all verbiage is avoided, and plain matters of fact have been arrived at by

the shortest and most direct course." Undoubtedly the eye of the verbal critic might detect occasional improprieties in the use of words, and point out some expressions hardly suited to the dignity of historical composition. But the great labor and extensive research, the tedious examination and collation of musty volumes and defaced records, which the compilation of such a work must have cost the author, the minute and faithful accuracy with which he has given every fact, and the industry and strict adherence to truth, visible on every page, are merits sufficient to atone for minor and trivial faults.

But we have spoken sufficiently of the general character of the work, and will now proceed to examine, more particularly, its contents. It is divided into five Books, which we shall take up separately in their order; believing that we cannot do the author better justice, than by making known to the reader what his volume contains, and allowing him occasionally to speak for himself.

The first Book is devoted to remarks on the origin, antiquities, manners and customs of the American Indians. After quoting a few passages from ancient authors, supposed by some to refer to America, and by them adduced in support of the opinion that the western continent was known to the ancients, — a point on which we feel at liberty to be quite skeptical, — the author gives the substance of the opinions of most of the modern theorists, who have written upon the great question of the first peopling of America. These theories were noticed probably more by way of curiosity, than with the expectation of enlightening the reader on a subject, which, in all human probability, must for ever remain in obscurity. Thomas Morton, in his "New Canaan," published in 1637, was of the opinion, that the Indians "might originally have come of the scattered Trojans," from the circumstance of a similarity of language, which he inferred from fancying he had heard among their words *Pascopan*; hence he believed, without a doubt, that their ancestors were acquainted with the god *Pan*. Adair, Boudinot, and several other authors, have fancied that they perceived in the Indian languages a strong resemblance to the Hebrew; and have labored hard to prove the identity of the American Indians with the long-lost ten tribes of Israel. William Wood, the author of "New England's Prospect," who left the country in 1633, after a short stay, says; "Of their language, which is only peculiar to them-

selves, not inclining to any of the refined tongues, some have thought they might be of the dispersed Jews, because some of their words be near unto the Hebrew; but by the same rule they may conclude them to be some of the gleanings of all nations, because they have words which sound after the Greek, Latin, French, and other tongues." Josselyn judged the Mohawks to be "Tartars, called Samoades, being alike in complexion, shape, habit, and manners." Cotton Mather, with his "wig full of learning," could not, of course, be silent on so important a theme; and, as in his mythology the Devil was always a most important personage, he assigns to him the business of conducting hither the first expedition, and of peopling America, with the hope of establishing an empire so remote that "the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel might never disturb his territories." "The natives of the country," he says, in another place, "now possessed by the Newenglanders, had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here; and though we know not *when* or *how* these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the *Devil* decoyed those miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them." "But our Eliot," continues he, "was on such ill terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the silver trumpets of heaven in his territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards ousting him of ancient possessions here. There were, I think, twenty several nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of ground which fell under the influence of our Three United Colonies; and our Eliot was willing to rescue as many of them as he could from that old usurping *landlord* of America, who is, by the wrath of God, the prince of this world."

This question, which the learned Doctor (who took good care to have always a sufficient force of the like supernatural agency in reserve, to explain all that he could not readily account for by his varied learning, and illustrate by a Latin or Greek quotation,) thus disposes of, has exercised also the pens of Grotius, Robertson, Voltaire, Lord Kaimes, and others; and their different solutions, though they might have satisfied, for the time, their authors, at least, are based on principles about as sound, and may be deemed about as certain, as that

of Cotton Mather. If the problem is ever solved by man, it must be by the combined aid of the whole circle of human wisdom, — history, philology, geology, natural history, &c.; as there is hardly any science, or branch of knowledge, which may not, in virtue of the “commune vinculum,” contribute its share to the task. And it is necessary not only that every possible fact be collected that can throw the least light, direct or indirect, upon the question; but also, in the language of Cuvier in reference to another subject, “carefully and decidedly to find the place of every thing before building upon it.” The theories of Robertson, Voltaire, and Lord Kaimes, with many others, are given by Mr. Drake; but to attempt to examine their different merits would require more space than our limits will allow us to devote to this part of the volume.

A portion of the first Book is devoted to illustrating the manners, customs, disposition, habits, and traditions of the Indians. This is attempted principally by anecdotes drawn from every variety of source; but the aim seems to have been rather to amuse the reader, than to present a connected and instructive disquisition on the subjects announced at the head of the chapter. There is, however, much to entertain, if not to inform. We do not complain of want of interest, but only that we had looked for something more methodical and complete. One or two of these anecdotes we will give the reader.

“*Characters Contrasted.* — ‘An Indian of the Kennebeck tribe, remarkable for his good conduct, received a grant of land from the State, and fixed himself in a new township where a number of families were settled. Though not ill treated, yet the common prejudice against Indians prevented any sympathy with him. This was shown at the death of his only child, when none of the people came near him. Shortly afterwards he went to some of the inhabitants, and said to them: “When white man’s child die, Indian man he sorry, — he help bury him. When my child die, no one speak to me. I make his grave alone. I can no live here.” He gave up his farm, dug up the body of his child, and carried it with him two hundred miles through the forests, to join the Canada Indians.’” — Book I. chap. iii. p. 22.

“*Harmless Deception.* — In a time of Indian troubles, an Indian visited the house of Governor Jenks, of Rhode Island, when the governor took occasion to request him, if any strange

Indian should come to his wigwam, to let him know it, which the Indian promised to do; but, to secure his fidelity, the governor told him that when he should give him such information, he would give him a mug of flip. Some time after the Indian came again. 'Well, Mr. Gubenor, strange Indian come my house last night!' 'Ah,' says the governor, 'and what did he say?' 'He no speak,' replied the Indian. 'What, no speak at all?' added the governor. 'No, he no speak at all.' 'That certainly looks suspicious,' said his excellency, and inquired if he were still there; and being told that he was, ordered the promised mug of flip. When this was disposed of, and the Indian was about to depart, he mildly said, 'Mr. Gubenor, my squaw have child last night;' and thus the governor's alarm was suddenly changed into disappointment, and the strange Indian into a new-born pappoose." — *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The remaining portion of the first Book is devoted to American Antiquities. Mr. Drake has collected most of what may be considered valuable from the various writers who have attempted to treat of them; "confining himself," as he says, "to facts as he finds them, without wasting time in commentaries." Facts, data sufficient and correct, seem to have been too little an object of inquiry with many who have written upon these relics of the olden time. Imagination has ranged wider than the eye, and penetrated deeper than the spade and shovel. We think with the author, that "it is time enough to argue a subject of this nature, when all the facts are collected;" and, that "to write volumes about Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in connexion with a few isolated facts, is a most ludicrous, and worse than useless business." A writer visits the remains of one of these fortifications, to examine and describe them. No sooner has he set foot within the half-demolished enclosure, and gazed round on the venerable oaks, that stand like aged sentinels on the time-levelled ramparts, or climbed the neighbouring mound, where repose the dead of an unknown age, the warriors who once battled on the plain around him, than fancy peoples anew the scene before him with another race of beings. He beholds in imagination the marshalled hosts of the long-revolted children of Abraham, or sees the stately march of the invincible Roman, as his cohorts file through the narrow opening in the now half-levelled wall. The perplexing problem is solved; the mystery is all revealed; and, after collecting a few fragments of earthenware, and a

piece or two of copper, he returns, satisfied with his investigations, to communicate their result to the world.

Our remarks have, of course, no application to those who have entered this field in the true spirit of philosophical investigation, using their eyes and their spades together, instead of allowing their imaginations to run riot amongst sites of cities, mounds, fortifications, swords, and medals. A few individuals have examined parts of these monuments, such as mounds, fortifications, wells, &c. with much faithfulness, and have accurately and minutely described them. Mr. Jefferson excavated one of these mounds or barrows, which was situated in his neighbourhood, near the site of an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form of about forty feet in diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though then reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation ten or twelve years. Before this, it had been covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and there was around its base an excavation of five feet depth and width, from which the earth had been taken to form the hillock. In this mound Mr. Jefferson found great quantities of human bones, which, from their position, appeared to have been thrown or piled there promiscuously together; bones of the head and feet being in contact; "some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass." These bones, when exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. Some of the skulls, jaw-bones, and teeth, were taken out in a nearly perfect state, but fell to pieces on being examined. This assemblage of bones Mr. Jefferson judged to have been made up from persons of all ages, and collected at different periods of time. The mound was composed of alternate strata of bones, stones, and earth. The Indians, as the same author states, have a custom of collecting together, at certain periods, the bones of their deceased friends, and depositing them together in this manner. "But," he observes, "on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry, and, having stayed about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left, about a half a dozen miles, to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."

In these *tumuli* are usually found, with the bones, such instruments only as appear to have been connected with the superstitious rites of the entombed, or to have been used for ornaments, as weapons of the chase, or of war. Of the latter none more formidable have been discovered, which can be supposed to have been deposited before the arrival of Europeans in America, than tomahawks, spears, and arrow-heads.

The number of these mounds and fortifications, scattered over the south and west, has been variously estimated by different writers. Mr. Brackenridge supposes there may be three thousand; and Mr. Drake thinks it would not exceed the bounds of probability to estimate them at double that number. "The plough, excavations, and levellings for towns, roads, and various other works, have entirely destroyed hundreds of them, which had never been described, and whose sites cannot now be ascertained." Great numbers are believed to have been destroyed by the changing of the courses of rivers.

"There are various opinions about the uses for which these ancient remains were constructed. While some of them are too much like modern fortifications to admit of a doubt of their having been used for defences, others, nearly similar in design, from their situation, entirely exclude the adoption of such an opinion. Hence we find four kinds of remains formed of earth; two kinds of mounds or barrows, and two which have been viewed as fortifications. The barrows or burial piles are distinguished by such as contain articles which were inhumed with the dead, and those which do not contain them. From what cause they differ in this respect, it is difficult to determine. Some have supposed the former to contain bones only of warriors, but in such mounds the bones of infants are found, and hence that hypothesis is overthrown; and indeed an hypothesis can scarcely be raised upon any one matter concerning them, without almost a positive assurance that it has been created to be destroyed.

"As a specimen of the contents of the mounds generally, the following may be taken; being such as Dr. Drake found in those he examined. — 1. Cylindrical stones, such as jasper, rock-crystal, and granite; with a groove near one end. 2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as though made for the reception of an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. 3. A small article of the same shape, but composed of polished argillaceous earth.

4. A bone, ornamented with several curved lines, supposed by some to be hieroglyphics. 5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of some rapacious bird. 6. Lumps of lead ore. 7. Isinglass, (mica membranacea.) This article is very common in mounds, and seems to have been held in high estimation among the people that constructed them; but we know not that modern Indians have any particular attachment to it. A superior article, though much like it, was also in great esteem among the ancient Mexicans. 8. Small pieces of sheet-copper, with perforations. 9. Larger oblong pieces of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges. 10. Beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell. 11. Teeth of carnivorous animals. 12. Large marine shells, belonging, perhaps, to the genus *buccinum*; cut in such a manner as to serve for domestic utensils. These, and also the teeth of animals, are generally found almost entirely decomposed, or in a state resembling chalk. 13. Earthenware. This seems to have been made of the same material as that employed by the Indians of Louisiana, within our recollection, viz. pounded muscle and other river shells, and earth. Some perfect articles have been found, but they are rare. Pieces, or fragments, are very common. Upon most of them, confused lines are traced, which doubtless had some meaning; but no specimen has yet been found, having glazing upon it like modern pottery. Some entire vases, of most uncouth appearance, have been found. Mr. Atwater of Ohio, who has pretty fully described the western antiquities, gives an account of a vessel, which seems to have been used as a jug. It was found in an ancient work on Cany Fork, on Cumberland River, about four feet below the surface. The body of the vessel is made by three heads, all joined together at their backs. From these places of contact a neck is formed, which rises about three inches above the heads. The orifice of this neck is near two inches in diameter, and the three necks of the heads form the legs of the vessel on which it stands when upright. The heads are all of a size, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The faces, at the eyes, are about three inches broad, which increase in breadth all the way to the chin." — Book I. chap. iv. p. 41.

The works, called fortifications, are next considered particularly, and the largest and most remarkable of them described. They are very numerous, and are of many different figures, though generally regular. Some are square, others oblong, trapezoidal, circular, &c. They differ equally in area; some containing only a few rods, and others twenty,

forty, and even more than a hundred acres. They are constructed mostly of common earth, or of clay ; and some of silicious limestone, and undressed freestone, laid up without mortar or cement of any sort. We will extract the descriptions of a few of these curious works of unknown hands.

“ At Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami, there is a circular wall of earth, enclosing a space of about 100 feet in diameter, with an opening on the side most remote from the river. The adjacent hill, at the distance of half a mile, and at the greater elevation of about a hundred feet, is the site of a stone wall, nearly circular, and enclosing perhaps twenty acres. The valley of the river on one side, and a deep ravine on the other, render the access to three fourths of this fortification extremely difficult. The wall was carried generally along the brow of the hill, in one place descending a short distance so as to include a spring. The silicious limestone, of which it was built, must have been transported from the bed of the river, which, for two miles opposite these works, does not at present afford one of ten pounds' weight. They exhibit no marks of the hammer, or any other tool. The wall was laid up without mortar, and is now in ruins.” — *Ibid.*

Similar remains are very numerous at Marietta, and in its vicinity, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum ; but these have been so often described, as to be familiar to every reader.

“ Of first importance are doubtless the works upon the Scioto. The most magnificent is situated twenty-six miles south from Columbus, and consists of two nearly exact figures, a circle and a square, which are contiguous to each other. A town, having been built within the former, appropriately received the name of Circleville, from that circumstance. According to Mr. Atwater, who has surveyed these works with great exactness and attention, the circle was originally $1138\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, from external parallel tangents, and the square was $907\frac{1}{2}$ feet upon a side ; giving an area to the latter of 3025 square rods, and to the circle 3739 nearly ; both making almost 44 acres. The rampart of the circular fort consists of two parallel walls, which were, at least in the opinion of my author, twenty feet in height, measuring from the bottom of the ditch between the circumvallations, before the town of Circleville was built. ‘ The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where is a low place, and is considerably lower than any other part of

the work. The outside wall was taken from the ditch which is between these walls, and is alluvial, consisting of pebbles worn smooth in water and sand, to a very considerable depth, more than fifty feet at least.' At the time Mr. Atwater wrote his account, (about 1819), the outside of the walls was but about five or six feet high, and the ditch not more than fifteen feet deep. The walls of the square fort were, at the same time, about ten feet high. This fort had eight gateways or openings, about twenty feet broad, each of which was defended by a mound four or five feet high, all within the fort arranged in the most exact manner; equidistant and parallel. The circular fort had but one gateway, which was at its south-east point, and at the place of contact with the square. In the centre of the square was a remarkable mound, with a semicircular pavement, adjacent to its eastern half, and nearly facing the passage way into the square fort. Just without the square fort, upon the north side, and to the east of the centre gateway, rises a large mound. In the opposite point of the compass, without the circular one, is another. These, probably, were places of burial. As the walls of the square lie pretty nearly in a line with the cardinal points of the horizon, some have supposed they were originally projected in strict regard to them, their variation not being more than that of the compass; but a single fact of this kind can establish nothing, as mere accident may have given them such direction. 'What surprised me,' says my authority, 'on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible.'" — *Ibid.*, p. 43.

At the forks of the Licking river, above Newark, in the county of Licking, are similar remains, in which the same fact is observable respecting the openings into the forts; "the square ones having several, but the round ones only one, with a single exception."

"Not far below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are found numerous wells or holes in the earth. 'There are,' says Mr. Atwater, 'at least a thousand of them, many of which are now more than twenty feet deep.' Though called wells, my author says they were not dug for that purpose. They have the appearance of being of the same age as the mounds, and were doubtless made by the same people; but for what purpose they could have been made, few seem willing to hazard a conjecture.

"Four or five miles to the northwest of Somerset, in the

county of Perry, and southwardly from the works on the Licking, is a stone fort, enclosing about 40 acres. Its shape is that of a heart, though bounded by straight lines. In or near its centre is a circular stone mound, which rises like a sugar-loaf from twelve to fifteen feet. Near this large work is another small fort, whose walls are of earth, enclosing but about half an acre. I give these the name of forts, although Mr. Atwater says he does not believe they were ever constructed for defence." — *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The author devotes a few paragraphs to the "Inscription Rocks," as they are termed, which are found in different parts of the country, covered with uncouth figures of men, beasts, birds, rudely carved, with a few zigzag lines, and by some fancied to be attempts at hieroglyphical writing; though to interpret their meaning, or even conjecture the nature of the events supposed to be recorded, has as yet baffled the skill of the learned. The following are his remarks upon the rock near Dighton, called by the people in its vicinity, the "Writing Rock." This rock, by the way, we would here add, is not in the town of Dighton, as it has been usually said to be, (by an inaccuracy which once cost us no small pains and disappointment,) but in Berkley, upon the east side of the Taunton river, which separates that town from the former.

"Among the inscriptions upon stone in New England, the 'Inscribed Rock,' as it is called, at Dighton, Mass., is doubtless the most remarkable. It is in Taunton River, about six miles below the town of Taunton, and is partly immersed by the tide. If this inscription was made by the Indians, it doubtless had some meaning to it; but I doubt whether any of them, except such as happened to know what it was done for, knew any thing of its import. The divers faces, figures of half-formed animals, and zigzag lines, occupy a space of about twenty square feet. The whimsical conjectures of many persons about the origin of the inscription, might amuse, but could not instruct; and it would be a waste of time to give an account of them." — *Ibid.*

Mr. Drake is of the opinion that these inscriptions are the work of the Indians. He closes his chapter on American Antiquities, with a comparison of those of the United States and Mexico, and with some remarks on the supposed Welsh Indians. But we have already dwelt too long on this part of the volume, and must proceed to what constitutes by far the largest and most valuable portion of the work, Indian Biography and History.

The second and third Books contain biographical sketches of all the principal Indian characters, in those tribes that were known to the English, so far as any record of their lives has come down to us ; connecting with the lives of the celebrated chiefs an account of the wars and disturbances that occurred between them and the English.

The second Book commences with a brief account of the conduct of the early voyagers towards the Indians, and mentions a few of those carried by them to Europe. It appears that the first of the American race ever seen in England were three, presented to Henry VII. by Sebastian Cabot, in 1502. These had been brought by him from Newfoundland. They were "clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, [of residence in England,] were seen in the King's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen." They were brought to the English court "in their country habit," and "spoke a language never heard before out of their own country." The first ever seen in Europe were, of course, those carried by Columbus on his return from his first voyage. Sir Ferdinando Gorges says of three Indians, whom he took into his custody, of a number carried to England from "a river on the coast of America called Pemmaquid," by Captain George Weymouth; "After I had those people some time in my custody, I observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort ; and, in all their carriage, manifest shows of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people." From them he gained much information of the country which he afterwards attempted to colonize; "what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbours, those parts abounded with." And after having kept them "full three years," he made them set him down "what great rivers run up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had," &c.

In the unjust and shameful conduct of some of the early navigators towards the Indians, may be clearly seen the cause of the hostile disposition which they afterwards manifested, in some instances, towards those who visited the coast ; such, for example, as the "flight of arrows" with which they greeted a party of the Pilgrims on their first going on shore upon Cape Cod. Hunt, as Captain John Smith relates, after having traded with the natives on the most friendly terms, "betrayed

four-and-twenty of those poor salvages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of him [Smith, who was in company with Hunt] and all his men, carried them with him to Malaga, and there, for a little private gain, sold these silly salvages for rials of eight." Of this number Squanto, or Tisquantum, is generally supposed to have been, who became so serviceable as interpreter to the Plymouth colony. But Mr. Drake thinks this to be an error; and, on authority which he adduces, shows him to have been one of those carried to England, in 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, who had been sent out to discover a northwest passage. This opinion accounts more easily for the return of Squanto to New England. He is supposed to have been one of the three before mentioned by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who gives their names; one of which is "*Tasquantum*."

Henry Hudson, in sailing up the river that bears his name, having one of his men mortally wounded by an arrow, shot by an Indian, whom, judging by his subsequent conduct towards them, he probably first provoked, seized some of the natives, and, during his intercourse with them, frequently fired upon the canoes that came out to meet him. This he did, erroneously supposing that every canoe that came armed had hostile designs upon him. One Indian, who had contrived to climb up the rudder, and take from the cabin, which he entered by the window, "a pillow, two shirts, and two bandoleers," the mate "shot in the breast and killed." "Many others," says the authority quoted by Mr. Drake, — the Journal of Robert Juet, one of Hudson's company, — "were in canoes about the ship, who immediately fled, and some jumped overboard. A boat manned from the ship pursued them, and coming up with one in the water, he laid hold of the side of the boat, and endeavoured to overset it; at which one in the boat cut off his hands with a sword, and he was drowned." This was cold barbarity. The navigator should have considered the wide disparity between the ideas of justice in the mind of the simple child of the forest, and of the enlightened European.

In 1611, Captain Edward Harlow, who was sent "to discover an Ile supposed about Cape Cod," detained "three salvages aboard," one of whom soon leaped overboard and escaped; "and not long afterwards cut their boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand and guarded her with bowes and arrowes, the English lost her."

“This exploit of Pechmo is as truly brave as it was daring. To have got under the stern of a ship, in the face of armed men, and at the same time to have succeeded in his design of cutting away and carrying off their boat, was an act as bold and daring, to say the least, as that performed in the harbour of Tripoli by our countryman Decatur.”

We are disposed to think that the ordnance of the ship could not have been very heavy, or that the disposition of the commander must have been more humane than that of Hudson, to have allowed a few Indians, with their bows and arrows, to keep a whole ship's company at bay, and finally oblige them to relinquish their boat.

We have presented these facts to show that the early hostility and jealousy manifested by some of the Indians towards the English, were caused by the provocations given by the latter.

In the second Book, we find, among a great number of others less distinguished, the lives of Massasoit, Canonicus, Miantonnimoh, Ninigret, Uncas, Sassacus, and Mononotto, with an account of the Praying Indians; and, in connexion with the lives of Sassacus and Mononotto, a history of the Pequot war.

The name of Massasoit, the firm friend and faithful ally of the Pilgrims, can never be pronounced by a New Englander, without a mingled feeling of love and veneration. That singular combination of talent, which could inspire awe and attachment in the minds of his subjects, and enable him, in mildness and peace, to sway the rude sceptre of authority over so many untaught savages, and to keep together in harmony so many fierce and warlike clans, whose infancy had been hushed to the notes of the war-whoop, may well excite admiration. Powhattan, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, and others, have united and swayed many and powerful tribes; but theirs was a temporary union in an emergency of war. Nor are we less struck with the traits of his character, displayed in all his dealings with the English; his noble and dignified generosity, in giving to the settlers land which he refused to sell; his faithful and scrupulous adherence to the treaty which he voluntarily entered into with the Plymouth colony; the repeated instances of his sincere and personal friendship for the English to whom he had professed it; and, in all, never for once forgetting his character as an independent sovereign, and the original lord of

the soil, or feeling that he was to be treated otherwise than "as a king." In reply to Roger Williams, who, in virtue of a purchase of the Narragansetts, claimed a part of the territory which Massassoit considered to be within his original transfer to the Plymouth colony, "It is *mine*," said the sachem, "it is mine, and *therefore theirs*;" implying that the original title came from him.

As the life and character of this sachem have been treated of at length, in a former number of this journal,* we shall not enter into a consideration of it; but content ourselves with giving an additional fact respecting his life, and the conduct of the Plymouth court towards him, which we met with a short time since in the Old Colony Records,† but which is not mentioned by any historian, not even by Mr. Drake. This was an assault made upon the sachem, in 1646, by "William Cheesborrow of Seacunck alius Rehoboth, and some others," who were apprehended and punished by the Plymouth court. William Cheesborrow was called "to answer to all such matters as on his Majesty's behalf should be objected against him concerning an affray made upon Ussamequin and some of his people;" and, for this offence and for a succeeding one of "breach of imprisonment," was sentenced "to be imprisoned fourteen days without bayle or mainprize, and to pay six pounds fine to the Colonies." One of his associates in the offence, "Thomas Hitt, of Rehoboth, for taking part with Cheesborrow in the affray made upon Ussamequin and his men, is fined twenty shillings." We have inserted the above facts, because it has been frequently stated that the complaints of the Indians against the whites were never heard in the courts of the English, while the offences of the Indians against them were rigorously punished. This, it is probable, was sometimes the case; but we believe it will be found, on a minute examination, that the colony of Plymouth, at least, was not wanting in respect for the rights of the Indians. But for the evidence of the above assault, we had supposed that even the vilest of the colonists too much respected their benevolent and venerable ally, to touch a hair of the "good old Massassoit."

Contemporary with Massassoit, and not inferior to him in the sterner and nobler virtues of the savage character, was

* See North American Review, No. LXXIII., for October, 1831.

† Old Colony Records, Vol. II. pp. 131, 132, 138.

Canonicus, the great and powerful sachem of the Narragansetts. This tribe, or rather confederacy, like that of the Pokanokets, was composed of various small tribes, inhabiting a large part of the territory which now constitutes the State of Rhode Island. The chiefs of Block Island and a part of Long Island were their tributaries, or in some way subject to them. According to Gookin, "the territories of their sachem extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk River and Narragansitt Bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay." Pawcatuck River separated them from the Pequots. This nation was estimated by Richard Smith, jr., who with his father lived in their country, to contain, in 1642, a population of thirty thousand. So late as Philip's war, they were able to raise two thousand warriors, one half of whom were provided with English arms; and it is said that they could formerly muster twice that number. Like the other tribes of North America, their chief employment had been war; which from time immemorial they had carried on, with both the Pokanokets on the east, and the Pequots, and perhaps the Mohawks, on the west. About the year 1766, a catalogue was made of the remains of this once powerful tribe, by Mr. Samuel Drake, who resided fourteen years among them in the capacity of a schoolmaster; and this contained the names of three hundred and fifteen persons. A census of those calling themselves Narragansetts, taken in 1832, gave their number at three hundred and fifteen; only seven of whom were of unmixed blood.

"Of the early times of this nation, some of the first English inhabitants learned from the old Indians, that they had, previous to their arrival, a sachem named Tashtassuck; and their encomiums upon his wisdom and valor were much the same as the Delawares reported of their great chief Tamany; that since there had not been his equal, &c. Tashtassuck had but two children, a son and a daughter; these he joined in marriage, because he could find none worthy of them out of his family. The product of this marriage was four sons, of whom Canonicus was the oldest." — Book II. chap. iv. p. 54.

This account, however, for which he refers to Hutchinson, who met with it in manuscript, the author does not receive with implicit faith, considering it, "at best, a tradition."

A confusion has been introduced by some of our earlier

historians, respecting the particular chieftain who governed the Narragansetts, at the date of the first intercourse between them and the English. Governor Hutchinson, for instance, speaks in one place of *Canonicus* as their chief sachem ; and, in another, alluding to the death of Miantonomo, while the former was yet living, observes that "although they had *lost their chief sachem*, yet they had divers other stout ones, as *Canonicus*, Pessacus, and others."

The ambiguity arose, probably, from the circumstance, that *Canonicus*, in consequence of age, or for other reasons, associated with himself in the government, soon after the arrival of the English, his nephew Miantonomo. They are said to have governed in great harmony, consulting each other, as we see in the case of sending aid with Captain Mason against the Pequots, on all important occasions. "Their chiefest government in the country," says Roger Williams, (*Key to the Indian Language*), "is divided between a younger sachem, Miantunnamu, and an elder sachem, Caunaunacus, of about fourscore years old, this young man's uncle ; and their agreement in the government is remarkable. The old sachem will not be offended at what the young sachem doth ; and the young sachem will not do what he conceives will displease his uncle."

Another error, committed by Hubbard, has misled, or rather perplexed some. There was a chief of the same name in Philip's war, (perhaps a younger son of the *Canonicus* of whom we have been speaking,) who is denominated by Hubbard "the great sachem of the Narragansetts." This sachem, according to that author, "distrusting the proffers of the English, was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his squaw surrendering herself ; by this means her life was spared."

The first notice we meet with of *Canonicus*, is in February, 1622 ; when, jealous of the alliance of the English with his ancient enemy, Massassoit, he despatched to Plymouth the laconic and significant challenge to hostilities, a bundle of arrows bound with a rattlesnake's skin. The skin was returned with the equally appropriate reply, powder and ball. This answer, accompanied with the threats of the governor, and the assurance that whenever he should choose to come, he would find the English prepared to meet him, awed the sachem into silence, and made him content to live in peace with his new neighbours. The snake-skin was returned un-

opened, the sachem not allowing it to be brought into his house ; fearing, as it is said, that it contained the *plague* ; a pestilence, whose deadly havoc, a few years before the arrival of the English, had nearly depopulated the greater part of Massachusetts, and whose effects might still be traced by the bones that whitened the favorite hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians.

In 1632, he made an attack on Massassoit, who fled to an English house at Sowams, sending despatches to Plymouth for assistance. Standish was on the alert ; but was saved a contest by the sudden retreat of Canonicus, occasioned by a rumor that the Pequots were invading his own territory. This rumor proved to be well grounded.

“ In 1632, a war broke out between the Narragansetts and the Pequots, on account of disputed right to the lands between Pancatuck River and Wecapang Brook. It was a tract of considerable consequence, being about ten miles wide, and fifteen long. Canonicus drew along with him, besides his own men, several of the Massachusetts sagamores. This land was maintained with ferocity and various success, until 1635, when the Pequots were driven from it ; but who, it would seem, considered themselves but little worsted. For Canonicus, doubting his ability to hold possession long, and ashamed to have it retaken from him, made a present of it to one of his captains, who had fought heroically in conquering it ; but he never had possession. However, after the Pequots were subdued by the English, these lands were possessed by the Narragansetts again.” — *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

When Roger Williams had learned that Seekonk, the asylum granted him by Massassoit, was forbidden ground, being within the limits of the Plymouth patent, still buoyed up by the hope of yet finding a resting-place, he crossed the river and threw himself upon the mercy of Canonicus. Here he was welcomed with the kind *What cheer?* and treated with the same noble generosity with which the Pilgrims had been treated by the benevolent sachem of the Wampanoags. At first, indeed, Canonicus is said to have looked with a little suspicion upon the motives of the stranger ; wondering, perhaps, why an Englishman could not be permitted to dwell with his brethren. His suspicions, probably, arose, in part, from the fact of his subjects having recently suffered much from a sweeping epidemic, which they supposed had been sent among them by the whites. “ At my first coming among them,”

writes Roger Williams, “Caunounicus (*morosus æque ac barbarus senex*) was very sour, and accused the English and myself of sending the plague among them, and threatening to kill *him* especially.” Soon, however, as his jealousies were removed, he received the exile with a generosity that might have done honor to an emperor, and ought certainly to have put to the blush the governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth. He gave him and his followers all “the neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshasuck rivers, that they might sit down in peace upon it, and enjoy it for ever.” Mr. Williams says, in a deposition which he gave about fifty years afterwards, “I declare to posterity, that were it not for the favor that God gave me with Caunounicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island, had been purchased or obtained, for I never got any thing of Caunounicus but by gift.” “And I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, that when the hearts of my countrymen and friends and brethren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Caunounicus to love me as his own son to his last gasp.”

“In a grave assembly upon a certain occasion, Canonicus thus addressed Roger Williams; ‘I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will;’ and often repeated the word *wunnaunewaycan*, which signified faithfulness. ‘If the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English and my posterity shall live in love and peace together.’ When Mr. Williams said he hoped he had no cause to question the Englishman’s *wunnaumwaionck*, that is, faithfulness, having long been acquainted with it, Canonicus took a stick, and breaking it into ten pieces, related ten instances wherein they had proved false; laying down a piece at each instance. Mr. Williams satisfied him that he was mistaken in some of them, and as to others, he agreed to intercede with the governor, who, he doubted not, would make satisfaction for them.”—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

When Oldham was murdered by Indians near Block Island, the English sent a deputation to Canonicus, to ascertain the facts in the case, and to make a close investigation as to whether he or Miantonomo had in any way been accessory to the crime. The messengers were fully satisfied that neither of them had any hand in the affair, but that “the six other Narraganset sachems had.” “They returned with ac-

ceptance and good success of their business ; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers, and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbours of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.”

In 1636, when the Pequots had formed the design of exterminating the English, by exciting all the Indian tribes around them to make common cause against the intruders, they applied to Canonicus and Miantonomo, their old and inveterate enemies, to join them, and thus serve their country. This proposition must have put their patriotism to a severe test. No light struggle could it have cost the proud and haughty Sassacus, to extend the hand of friendship to his equally stern and implacable foe of the Narragansetts. Canonicus and Miantonomo are said to have wavered on this occasion. On the one hand was the prospect of an ultimate triumph over the English ; on the other, the gratification of present revenge on the Pequots, by suffering them to be finally destroyed by the forces of the colonies. But the feuds of centuries were not to be so easily smothered ; and the love of revenge prevailed. This result was probably aided greatly by their friendship for Roger Williams, and the influence he was able to exert over them. Miantonomo informed him of the application, who forthwith communicated the intelligence to Governor Winthrop. The governor immediately invited Miantonomo to pay him a visit at Boston, where a treaty of amity was concluded between the sachem and the English, by which the Narragansetts were to aid them against the Pequots. Without securing the friendship of the former, the English would hardly have dared to make war upon “ the great and mighty Pequots.” This tribe, it is known, was soon after nearly extirpated.

Canonicus continued friendly to the English to the end of his days ; though he is said, as justly he might, to have “ frowned upon them,” from the time that he learned of their treachery* towards Miantonomo, in delivering him to die by the tomahawk of Uncas. The venerable sachem died,

* For some considerations, however, throwing a different light upon this business, see Judge Davis's learned edition of MORTON's *Memorial*, as referred to in *North American Review*, Vol. XXV., p. 212.

according to Governor Winthrop, June 4th, 1647, "a very old man." He is generally supposed to have been about eighty-five years of age. He is mentioned with great respect by Roger Williams, in a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, in 1654, when, after stating that many hundreds of the English were witnesses to the friendly disposition of the Narragansetts, he says ; " Their late famous long-lived Caunonicus so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity, (in their way), as you laid to sleep your prudent peace-maker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince ; yea, through all their towns and countries how frequently do many and oft times our Englishmen travel alone with safety and loving kindness ! "

In connexion with Canonicus we had designed to sketch the life and character of the brave and high-souled Miantonomo, his nephew, and associate in authority ; whose melancholy fate, when contrasted with the nobleness of his nature, and the many proofs of his friendship to the English, furnishes the passage the most painful to contemplate in the history of the eastern tribes. But as our limits will not permit us, we must refer our readers to the interesting account given of him by Mr. Drake.

We have devoted so much space to the first part of this volume, that we shall be compelled to pass hastily over the remainder, although it is the greater portion, and replete with interest in every page, to those who would study the Indian character and history ; contenting ourselves with giving little more than a brief synopsis of the contents.

The third Book concludes the history of the New England Indians. It commences with the life of Alexander and Namumpum, afterwards called Weetamoo, the squaw-sachem of Pocasset, who appears to have been, for a time, his wife. Weetamoo was described to be " as potent a prince as any round about her, and to have as much corn, land, and men, at her command." In her union with Alexander, she retained her independence in the possession and management of her dominion. Under the impression that her husband had been poisoned by the authorities of Plymouth, as the cause of his early and sudden death, she espoused the cause of Philip, at the commencement of his war, and in the event, shared his fate. She was drowned, August 6, 1676, in Tehticut river, in Metapoiset, (a part of Swansey), in attempting to cross

over on a raft to Pocasset, now Tiverton. Her head was cut off, and set upon a pole at Taunton. Many of her tribe, that were there prisoners, were compelled to witness the spectacle ; who, according to Mather, “ made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen’s head.”

To these succeed the biography of Philip, with those of his principal captains and confederates, and a history of the war in which he fell. His Indian name, as it has been usually written, Metacom or Metacomet, Mr. Drake has discovered to be an abridgment of his real name, *Pometacom*.

“In regard to the native or Indian name of Philip, it seems a mistake has always prevailed, in printed accounts. *Pometacom* gives as near its Indian sound as can be approached by our letters. The first syllable was dropped in familiar discourse, and hence, in a short time, no one imagined but that it had always been so ; in nearly every original deed executed by him, which we have seen, — and they are many, — his name so appears. It is true that, in those of different years, it is spelt with some little variation, all which, however, conveyed very nearly the same sound. The variations are *Pumatacom*, *Pamatacom*, *Pometacome*, and *Pometacom* ; the last of which prevails in the records.

“We have another important discovery to communicate ; it is no other than the name of the wife of *Pometacom*, the innocent *Wootonekanuske* ! This was the name of her, who, with her little son, fell into the hands of Captain Church. No wonder that Philip was “now ready to die,” as some of his traitorous men told Church, and that “his heart was now ready to break !” All that was dear to him was now swallowed up in the vortex ! But they still lived, and this most harrowed his soul ; lived for what ? to serve as slaves in an unknown land ! Could it be otherwise than that madness should seize upon him, and despair torment him in every place ? that in his sleep he should hear the anguishing cries and lamentations of *Wootonekanuske* and his son ? ” * * * — Book III. chap. ii. p. 13.

In the number of “Philip’s captains,” as they are termed by our author, we meet with the name of Anawan, who had been the companion and counsellor of Massassoit, and was “Philip’s great captain in the war” ; and whose surprise and capture by Church, at Rehoboth, forms an act of single-handed prowess among the most distinguished in our history. The rock, which was the place of this capture, is still known by

the name of "Anawan's Rock," and is pointed out to the traveller from Taunton to Providence; an enormous pile, about twenty-five feet high and seventy feet long, on a sort of peninsula, on the border of a large swamp,* by which it is rendered difficult of access except on one side.

Here, too, we find the brave and haughty Canonchet, or Nanuntenuo, the son of Miantonomo, who, according to Hubbard, was "heir to all his father's pride and insolency, as well as his malice against the English." When some of the Wampanoags, who had taken refuge in his country, were demanded by the English, he is said to have replied haughtily, that "he would not deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail." When taken by Captain Dennison, on the Blackstone River, a few miles above Pawtucket, in reply to a young Englishman who ventured to ask him some questions respecting his conduct, he said, in broken English, looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, "You much child! no understand matters of war! let your brother or your chief come, him I will answer." He was carried to Stonington, Ct. and sentenced to die. When told of his sentence, he said, "I like it well; I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have said any thing unworthy of myself." He was shot under the eye of Dennison, at Stonington, and the friendly Indians were his executioners.

The remainder of the third Book is occupied with a history of the Eastern Indians, as the Penobscots, Tarranteens, &c.; and though not surpassed in interest by any other portion of the volume, our limits preclude us from giving it even a passing notice.

In the fourth Book, the author has given historical and biographical sketches of the Southern Indians; in which division he includes all the tribes that inhabited, or still inhabit, "beyond the Chesapeake and some of its tributaries" on the east, the Mississippi on the west, and the southern cape of Florida on the south. Some of the principal tribes embraced in this division, are the Powhattans, Manahoacs, and Monacans, or Tuscaroras, conspicuous in the early history of

* This swamp was described by Mr. Drake, in his edition of Philip's War, as containing *three thousand* acres, which error has been repeated in the "Book of the Indians," and, from the earliest editions, copied by other writers. It contains only about *one third* that space. See "History of Rehoboth," p. 109, where the above error is noticed.

Virginia and the Carolinas; and the existing, but injured, provoked, and fast-wasting tribes of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles. The origin and events of the Seminole war, now in progress, are minutely detailed, to the time of the printing of the volume; as also the late disturbances among the Creeks.

The English, in their early voyages to Virginia and their fruitless attempts to plant a colony there, met with three sachems, Wingina, Menatonon, and Granganimeo, of whom a few anecdotes are preserved.

“Wingina was first known to the English voyagers, Amidas and Barlow, who landed in Virginia in the summer of 1584, upon an island, called by the Indians Wokokon. They saw none of the natives until the third day, when three were observed in a canoe. One of them got on shore, and the English went to him. He showed no signs of fear, ‘but spoke much to them,’ then went boldly on board the vessels. After they had given him a shirt, hat, wine, and some meat, ‘he went away, and in half an hour he had loaded his canoe with fish,’ which he immediately brought, and gave to the English.

“Wingina, at this time, was confined to his cabin from wounds which he had lately received in battle, probably in his war with Piamacum, a desperate and bloody chief.” * * * “He never had much faith in the good intentions of the English, and to him was mainly attributed the breaking up of the first colony which settled in Virginia.” — Book IV. chap. i. p. 4.

He was first excited against the English by an outrage committed upon the natives by Sir Richard Grenvil, who had come to the country on a trading expedition.

“He made but one short excursion into the country, during which, by foolishly exposing his commodities, some native took from him a silver cup, to revenge the loss of which, a town was burned. He left a hundred and eight men, who seated themselves upon the Island of Roanoke. Ralph Lane, a military character of note, was governor, and Captain Philip Amidas, lieutenant-governor of this colony. They made various excursions about the country, in hopes of discovering mines of precious metals; in which they were a long time duped by the Indians, for their ill conduct towards them, in compelling them to pilot them about. Wingina bore, as well as he could, the provocations of the intruders, until the death of the old chief Ensenore, his father. Under pretence of honoring his funeral, he assembled eighteen hundred of his people, with the intention, as the

English say, of destroying them. They, therefore, upon the information of Skiko, son of the chief Menatonon, fell upon them, and, after killing five or six, the rest made their escape into the woods. This was done upon the island where Wingina lived, and the English first seized upon the boats of his visitants, to prevent their escape from the island, with the intention, no doubt, of murdering them all. Not long after, Wingina was entrapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief men.' " — *Ibid.*

Menatonon, sachem of a powerful nation possessing all the country from Albemarle Sound and Chowan River to the Chesapeake and James Bays, was made a prisoner by the English to assist them in their discoveries; and, in compensation for this treatment, he deluded them with the hope of finding a gold mine, which he pretended to have knowledge of. "So eager were they," says Stith, "and resolutely bent upon this golden discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one pint of corn¹ a man left, and two mastiff dogs, which, being boiled with sassafras leaves, might afford them some sustenance in their way back." After great suffering they again reached the coast, where they released Menatonon. After his liberation, he treated the English with uniform kindness. Two years after, when Governor White visited the country, the wife and child of the chief are mentioned, but nothing is said of him.

"Granganimeo was a chief very favorably spoken of. As soon as the arrival of the English was made known to him, he visited them with about forty of his men, who were very civil, and of a remarkably robust and fine appearance. When they had left their boat, and came upon the shore near the ship, Granganimeo spread a mat and sat down upon it. The English went to him armed, but he discovered no fear, and invited them to sit down; after which he performed some tokens of friendship; then making a speech to them, they presented him with some toys. None but four of his people spoke a word or sat down, but maintained the most perfect silence. On being shown a pewter dish, he was much pleased with it, and purchased it with twenty deer-skins, which were worth, in England, one hundred shillings sterling!! The dish he used as an ornament, making a hole through it, and wearing it about his neck. While here, the English entertained him, with his wife and children, on board their ship. His wife had in her ears strings of pearl, which reached to her middle. Shortly after, many of the people

came out of the country to trade; but when Granganimeo was present, none durst trade but himself, and them that wore red copper on their heads as he did. He was remarkably exact in keeping his promise, 'for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keep his word.' And these voyagers further report, that 'commonly he sent them every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish, and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and divers roots.' — *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Captain Amidas and some of his men afterwards returned the visit of the sachem. He was living on the Island of Roanoke, in "a little town of nine houses." The chief was absent; but his wife entertained them in the generous and liberal spirit of genuine Indian hospitality. She ordered their boat to be drawn up out of the reach of the surge, and their oars to be housed, to prevent their being stolen. "When they came into the house, she took off their cloathes and stockings, and washed them, as likewise their feet, in warm water. When their dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner room, (for there were five in the house divided by mats,) where they found hominy, boiled venison, and roasted fish; and, as a desert, melons, boiled roots, and fruits of various sorts. While they were at meat, two or three of her men came in with their bows and arrows, which made the English take to their arms. But she, perceiving their distress, ordered their bows and arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the gate." At evening the English put off from the shore, a short distance, and lay at anchor. This movement much distressed the kind-hearted queen, who "sent their supper to them; and, seeing their distrust, ordered a guard to keep watch upon the shore during the night. She also sent them five mats to cover them from the weather."

We next meet with an account of Powhatan; the romantic and daring adventures of Captain John Smith; and the eventful history of the heroic and high-souled Pocahontas. But these are familiar themes. The universal sympathy of mankind has reared to the memory of Pocahontas a monument as enduring as the human heart's reverence for virtue.

In connexion with the history of the Seminole Indians, the author, as we have before remarked, has treated of the grounds of the war now waging between the United States and that tribe. A subject of such extent demands a separate discussion, to do it any justice. But a few statements, relating to

the condition of the tribe, and to events which prepared the way for the present contest, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

The Seminole Indians are remnants of, and wanderers from, other tribes, principally the Spanish Florida Indians, the upper Creeks or Muscogee, and the Micosukee; from which circumstance they received from the neighbouring tribes their name, which means *Runaway*. The Micosukee, though a small band, are yet described as "the most relentless and ferocious of all, more bent on warring with their neighbours than pursuing the hunt. They seriously harassed General Jackson during his campaign in 1818-1819, and were the last to be subdued. Having burned their villages west of the Suwannee river and made great havoc among them, he drove the remnant of their tribe to the east of that river, when they became incorporated with the Seminoles." The force of the Micosukees, at the commencement of the present war, is estimated at four hundred warriors; that of the Creek and Spanish Indians at nine hundred; and the negroes, at between five and six hundred, making the available force of the Seminoles at that time, between eighteen and nineteen hundred warriors. The Muscogee, or Creek portion of the tribe, fled from their nation, and took up their abode with the Florida Indians, in the years 1814 and 1818. The negroes among them are mostly slaves, and employed by them in agriculture. The number of the principal chiefs who have been engaged in the present war, is eleven; that of the sub-chiefs, nineteen; and, of the friendly chiefs, who were in favor of recognising the validity of the treaty of 1832, and conforming to its requisitions, seven.

A treaty was made with the Seminoles, on the 18th of September, 1823, at Camp Moultrie, of which the following are the principal features; "The Seminole Indians relinquished all their claim to lands in Florida, with the exception of a tract, estimated to contain about five millions of acres, within the limits of which they bound themselves to continue. The United States were to pay the Indians two thousand dollars; to aid them in the removal of their families and stock from their respective towns to the new reservation; to furnish them with articles of husbandry, stock, &c. to the amount of six thousand dollars; to furnish them with corn, meat, and salt, for one year after they were collected within the limits assigned them; to pay

them four thousand five hundred dollars for the improvements which they surrendered with their lands ; to allow them one thousand dollars per annum for a blacksmith, and one thousand dollars per annum for a school fund ; these two last allowances to be made for twenty successive years."

In less than a year after the ratification of this treaty, complaints to the authorities began to be frequent, of depredations by Indians on the property of the whites in their vicinity. The Indians, on the contrary, with too much appearance of truth, retorted that these depredations of theirs were but reprisals of property, first stolen from them by their white neighbours. To this point, as well as to that of the fraud and violence to which they were perpetually exposed from a horde of land pirates, such as commonly prowl around the outskirts of Indian reservations, we have plenty of authorities at hand. But, as our purpose is at present no more than to show what ground was taken by the Indians, we content ourselves with giving part of a paper, of a deliberate and responsible character. It is a letter addressed from ten of the Seminole towns to the commanding officer at Fort Hawkins.

"Since the last war, after you sent us word that we must quit the war, our red people have come over on this side. The white people have carried all the red people's cattle off. Bernard's son was here, and I asked him what to do about it, — he told me to go to the head white man and complain. I did so, but there was no head white man, and there was no law in the case. *The whites first began to steal from us*, and there's nothing said about that, but great complaints about what the Indians do. It is now three years since white people killed three Indians ; and since, they have killed three more ; and since, one more. *The white people killed our red people first*, — the Indians took satisfaction. There are three men that the red people have not taken satisfaction for yet. There is nothing said about what white people do, — but all that the Indians do is brought up. The cattle that we are accused of taking, were cattle that the *white people took from us* ; our young men went and brought them back with the *same marks and brands*."

The annoyance arising from the proximity of the Indians to the settlements of the whites, and the depredations committed by them, were urged in numerous petitions to the Executive, praying for their removal, at an earlier period than that stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, which was twenty years.

These memorials were so far regarded, that a new negotiation was immediately determined upon. This resulted in the treaty of Payne's Landing.

Colonel Gadsden was sent into the nation to negotiate the desired treaty, and, on the 8th of April, 1832, had an interview with Miconopy, the head of the tribe, and a few other chiefs, on the subject of a removal of themselves and people to the west of the Mississippi. Miconopy said, "he wished all his people to hear what their father in Washington had to communicate to them; but their warriors were out on their annual hunt, and many of them in the lower part of the peninsula, one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles from home, so that it would be difficult to collect them immediately. He therefore wished Colonel Gadsden to defer the communication for thirty days." At the expiration of that time, the principal body of the Seminoles assembled by appointment at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, where they were met by Colonel Gadsden, on the 8th of May, to negotiate on the subject of his mission. After considerable difficulty he succeeded in obtaining their consent to a treaty, of which the following are the leading features :

"1st. The Seminole Indians to relinquish their claim to the tract of land reserved for them by the second article of the treaty of Camp Moultrie, containing four million thirty-two thousand six hundred and forty acres, and to remove west of the Mississippi, and there become a constituent portion of the Creek tribe.

"2d. The United States to pay the Seminole Indians fifteen thousand and four hundred dollars, as a consideration for the improvements which they abandoned with their lands; and a further sum to the two blacks, Abraham and Cudjoe, of two hundred dollars each.

"3d. Each of the Indians to be furnished with a blanket and a homespun frock, and a sufficient quantity of corn, meat, and salt for their support for one year after their arrival in the new country.

"4th. The blacksmith, provided for in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, to be continued ten years longer, at one thousand dollars per year.

"5th. The United States to pay them an additional annuity of three thousand dollars, for fifteen successive years after their arrival in the west; which sum, together with the four thousand dollars stipulated in the treaty of Camp Moultrie, (making seven thousand dollars per annum) to be paid to the nation with their annuities.

“6th. In order to relieve the Seminoles from the vexatious demands on them for slaves and other property, the United States stipulated to have the same investigated, and to liquidate such claims as were satisfactorily established, provided the amount did not exceed seven thousand dollars.”

This treaty was executed, May 9th, 1832, and signed, on the part of the Indians, by fifteen chiefs. There was, however, connected with the treaty, a most important proviso, which placed its final acceptance or rejection at the option of the Indians. We give it in the words of the commissioner, Colonel Gadsden, in a letter to the Secretary of War.

“There is a condition prefixed to the agreement, without assenting to which the Florida Indians *most positively refused* to negotiate for their removal west of the Mississippi. Even with the condition annexed, there was a reluctance (which with some difficulty was overcome) on the part of the Indians, to bind themselves by *any* stipulations before a knowledge of facts and circumstances would enable them to judge of the advantages or disadvantages of the disposition which the government of the United States wished to make of them. They were finally *induced*, however, to assent to the agreement.”

Again, in the same letter, Colonel Gadsden says ;

“The final ratification of the treaty will depend upon the opinion of the seven chiefs selected to explore the country west of the Mississippi River. *If* that corresponds to the description given, or is equal to the expectations formed of it, there will be no difficulty on the part of the Seminoles. If the Creeks, however, raise any objections, this will be a sufficient pretext on the part of some of the Seminole deputation to oppose the execution of the whole arrangement for removal.”

A delegation of seven chiefs was accordingly deputed by the Seminoles, to visit and explore the country selected for their future residence. This delegation, which had been commissioned only to *explore* the country, and on whose report the final acceptance or rejection of the treaty on the part of the Seminoles was to depend, were met, before they had reported to their nation, by Colonel Gadsden, the writer of the letter just referred to, and other commissioners of the United States, at Fort Gibson, La., on the 28th of March, 1833, and induced to confirm a treaty which the government has held to be binding on the whole Seminole nation. By the stipulations of this treaty, one third of the tribe was to be removed as early as practicable in 1833 ; but

it was not ratified on the part of the United States till 1834, when the time specified for the execution of a part of the conditions had elapsed. A similar circumstance, when it occurred between Spain and the United States, in 1819, in the ratification of the treaty for the cession of Florida, was decided by our government to have rendered the first ratification, made by the Senate, inoperative. It was suggested by Governor Eaton, on this occasion, that the precedent ought to be taken as a rule in the case of the treaty of Payne's Landing; as "our Indian compacts were to be construed and controlled by the rules which civilized people practise." The War Department, however, replied; "The question presented in your letter respecting the validity of the obligation of the Seminole Indians to remove from Florida, has been submitted to the Attorney-General, and that officer has decided that the obligation of the treaty is not affected by the delay which has taken place, but that the Indians may be required to remove in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837."

An early ratification of this treaty was pressed upon the government, though upon a different ground, by Colonel Gadsden and others. They were apprehensive, that, if delay occurred in making the necessary appropriation for the removal of one third of the Indians, stipulated to take place in 1833, "serious obstacles might be thrown in the way by a class of evil-disposed persons, whose interest would be injuriously affected by the Indians leaving the country." Two years, as we have before seen, were suffered to elapse before the validity of the treaty was acknowledged, or any appropriations were made. Then, if not before, it was publicly denounced by the Indians as "a white man's treaty," and they declared their determination not to hold themselves bound by it. From that time, we may date the commencement of those excesses which have led to the present war, of which there appears to be little doubt that the treaty of Payne's Landing, and the circumstances immediately connected with it, were the principal cause.

We return to Mr. Drake. His fifth Book contains biographical and historical notices of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and other neighbouring tribes of the West. Among the distinguished chiefs, whose lives are here related, we meet with the names of Grangula, Logan, Pontiac, Brant, Red-

Jacket, Tecumseh, and Black Hawk ; men whose talents would have rendered them illustrious in any age or nation. But it was their misfortune to fight for a sinking cause, to lift the arm of the weak and oppressed against the stronger oppressor, and bare their breasts to the impending storm, whose gathering blackness should pass away but to reveal the final destruction of their ill-fated race.

The volume contains many noble specimens of Indian eloquence, which we should be glad to cite for our readers ; but we must restrict ourselves to a single extract, which may serve to convey some impression of the commanding oratory of Red-Jacket, when roused to put forth the full strength of his genius. We have not selected a speech, but a description of one of his most stirring harangues, written apparently by an eyewitness of the scene.

“ The author of the following passage is unknown to us ; but, presuming it to be authentic, we quote it. ‘ More than thirty years * have rolled away since a treaty was held on the beautiful acclivity that overlooks the Canandaigua Lake. The witnesses of the scene will never forget the powers of native oratory. Two days had passed away in negotiation with the Indians for a cession of their lands. The contract was supposed to be nearly completed, when Red-Jacket arose. With the grace and dignity of a Roman senator, he drew his blanket around him, and with a piercing eye surveyed the multitude. All was hushed. Nothing interposed to break the silence, save the gentle rustling of the tree tops, under whose shade they were gathered. After a long and solemn, but not unmeaning pause, he commenced his speech in a low voice and sententious style. Rising gradually with the subject, he depicted the primitive simplicity and happiness of his nation, and the wrongs they had sustained from the usurpations of white men, with such a bold but faithful pencil, that every auditor was soon roused to vengeance, or melted into tears. The effect was inexpressible. But ere the emotions of admiration and sympathy had subsided, the white men became alarmed. They were in the heart of an Indian country, — surrounded by more than ten times their number, who were inflamed by a remembrance of their injuries, and excited to indignation by the eloquence of a favorite chief. Appalled and terrified, the white men cast a cheerless gaze upon the hordes around them. A nod from the chiefs might be the onset of

“ * This writer, I conclude, wrote in 1822. I copy it from ‘ *Miscellanies* ’ selected from the Public Journals, by Mr. Buckingham.”

destruction. At this portentous moment, Farmers-Brother interposed. He replied not to his brother chief, but, with a sagacity truly aboriginal, he caused a cessation of the council, introduced good cheer, commended the eloquence of Red-Jacket, and, before the meeting had re-assembled, with the aid of other prudent chiefs, he had moderated the fury of his nation to a more salutary review of the question before them. Suffice it to say, the treaty was concluded, and the Western district, at this day, owes no small portion of its power and influence to the counsels of a savage, in comparison with whom, for genius, heroism, virtue, or any other quality that can adorn the bawble of a diadem, not only George the Fourth and Louis le Désiré, but the German Emperor and Czar of Muscovy, alike dwindle into insignificance.' "— Book V. chap. vi. pp. 104, 105.

The volume contains portraits of several of the distinguished Indian characters, and among the rest those of Red-Jacket and Pocahontas. The two latter are on steel; and the portrait of the princess, which is from a copy of the original, taken in London, in 1616, while she was at the English court, is not ill executed. She was then at the age of twenty-one. The costume is English. Some excellent wood-cuts, partly copies of ancient drawings, and illustrative of Indian scenes and manners, also accompany the volume.

ART. II. — *Sylva Americana ; or a Description of the Forest Trees indigenous to the United States, Practically and Botanically considered. Illustrated by more than One Hundred Engravings.* By DANIEL J. BROWNE. Boston. 1832. 8vo. pp. 408.

THE subject of American Forest Trees is one which has long engaged the attention of enlightened European naturalists, and has more especially given rise to the splendid "*Sylva*" of Francis Andrew Michaux. To this accomplished and liberal-minded Frenchman this country certainly owes a heavy debt of gratitude. If our people, or our rulers, should become awakened to a just sense of the immense value of our forests, before we feel it to our cost by their destruction or serious diminution, it will be owing directly or indirectly more to the